

Report of the Study Team on Tribal Development Programmes

KERALA



**Committee on Plan Projects
PLANNING COMMISSION**

C O N T E N T S

<u>CHAPTER</u>		<u>Page</u>
I.	Tribal Population	1
II.	Development Plans	6
III.	Administration	14
IV.	Land Problem and Indebtedness	20
V.	Agriculture and allied sectors	28
VI.	Education	39
VII.	Transport and Communications	46
VIII.	Industries	47
IX.	Medical and Public Health	49
X.	Community Development, Cooperation and Panchayati Raj	52
	Summary of Recommendations and Conclusions	56
	Annexures	62 - 70



P R E F A C E

0.1 At the instance of the Planning Commission the Committee on Plan Projects constituted in its Resolution No. COTP/Adm/16(1)/66 dated 26th October, 1966, (Annexure I), a Study Team on Tribal Development programmes with the object of giving practical effect to the recommendations made in the Original Fourth Five Year Plan Draft Outline for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes and for assisting State Governments in evolving concrete schemes of development specially adapted to the needs and conditions of tribal communities and areas. The Team, as originally constituted, consisted of Shri P.Shilu Ao as Chairman and Sarvashri L.M.Shrikant and B.Mehta as Members. Shri B.Mehta resigned the membership of the Team on February 20, 1967, and Shri T.Sivasankar was appointed as Member in his place.

0.2 This report is based on an on-the-spot study of the various development programmes undertaken in Kerala. The report was discussed with the State Government at the draft stage and their suggestions and comments have been duly taken into consideration while finalising it. The Study Team wishes to thank the State authorities for the facilities provided by them for the conduct of this study.

CHAPTER - I
TRIBAL POPULATION

1.1 According to the 1961 Census, the tribal population of the Kerala State is 2,17,996. This is roughly 1.29% of the total population of the State. The Scheduled Tribes are found in almost all the districts but with moderate concentrations in the districts of Cannanore, Kozhikode, Kottayam, Palghat, Ernakulam, Trivandrum and Trichur. There are, however, no Scheduled Areas in the State as defined in the Fifth Schedule to the Constitution of India. The districtwise particulars regarding the total population, the population of Scheduled Tribes etc. are given below:-

Table - 1
DISTRICTWISE TOTAL POPULATION AND SCHEDULED TRIBES
POPULATION
(1961 Census)

S.No.	District	Total Population	Scheduled Tribes		
			Popu- lation	Rank of Col. 4	%age of col.4 to 3
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1.	Cannanore	17,80,294	68,622	1	3.85
2.	Kozhikode	26,17,189	68,299	2	2.60
3.	Palghat	17,76,566	20,709	4	1.16
4.	Trichur	16,39,862	6,575	7	0.40
5.	Ernakulam	18,59,913	9,551	6	0.51
6.	Kottayam	17,32,880	20,822	3	1.20
7.	Alleppey	18,11,252	625	9	0.03
8.	Quilon	19,41,228	2,854	8	0.15
9.	Trivandrum	17,44,531	9,939	5	0.57
Total:		1,69,03,715	2,17,996		1.29

1.2 It will be seen from the above table that the largest concentration is in the Cannanore district (3.85%), followed by Kozhikode (2.60%), Kottayam (1.20%) and Palghat (1.16%). The settlements of tribes in these districts are on the Western Ghats which separate Kerala from the adjoining States of Mysore and Madras.

1.3 There are 34 tribal communities in the Kerala State. The more important among them are Pulayans, Paniyans, Maratis, Kurumans, Kurichchans, Irulars or Irulans and Kanikarans or Kanikkars. Taken together these tribes constitute nearly 81.4% of the tribal population. Pulayans alone account for over one third of the tribal population of the State. Though the tribes are found in nearly all the districts of the State, there is a distinct localisation of certain tribes in certain districts. Pulayans are mostly found in Cannanore, Kozhikode, Palghat and Trichur districts, Paniyans in Cannanore and Kozhikode districts, Marati in Cannanore district, Malayalarayars in Kottayam and Ernakulam districts, Irulars or Irulans in Palghat district, Kurumans in Cannanore and Kozhikode districts, Kurichchans in Cannanore and Kozhikode districts and Kanikarans in Trivandrum district. Particulars regarding the population of different tribes and the districts of their habitation are shown in Annexure II.

1.4 The most backward tribes are Malapandarams, Aranadans, Koragas, Kadars, Irulars, Paniyans, Kattunayakans and Vishawans. They are still in the primitive food-gathering stage. The Kanikkars in Trivandrum and Quilon districts, the Muthuvans, Malai Arayans in Ernakulam and Kottayam districts, Kurumans and Kurichchans in Wynad district are some of the relatively more advanced sections among the Scheduled Tribes.

1.5 Though untouchability amongst tribals is rare there is at least one tribe which in its observance of untouchability excels even the most orthodox sections of the Hindu community. The Kurichchans consider themselves superior to all other tribes and regard the touch of a Paniyan or Kuruman as pollution, necessitating a bath. The more orthodox among them consider the entry of even high caste Hindus into their houses as defilement requiring, as a caste injunction, the abandonment of the houses so defiled.

1.6 Occupational Distribution: Out of the total Scheduled Tribes population of 2.13 lakhs, 1.13 lakhs (53.02%) are non-workers. Out of the workers numbering 1.00 lakh, 25.59% are cultivators, 41.47% are agricultural labourers and 8.03% are engaged in mining, quarrying, forestry, fishing and allied occupations. The corresponding percentages for the total population in the State are 20.92, 17.38 and 8.66 respectively. 67.06% of the tribals are thus dependent on agriculture, either as cultivators or

as agricultural labourers for their maintenance. As the tribals have, generally speaking, not acquired any technical skills, they cannot find gainful employment in manufacturing, construction and industrial projects. Particulars regarding the occupational pattern among the Scheduled Tribes and the total population are given in Annexure III.

1.7 Literacy: According to the 1961 Census the level of literacy among the Scheduled Tribes was 17.26% against 46.8% for the general population in the State. The percentages of literacy among tribal males and females were 22.63 and 11.92 respectively, against 55.0 and 38.9 among the general population in the State. It is clear from this that tribals are lagging far behind the general population in literacy. The levels of literacy among the Scheduled Tribes and general population are shown in Annexure IV..

1.8 Land Utilisation: Land utilisation in the State during the year 1965-66 was as follows:-

Table - 2
LAND UTILISATION STATISTICS*
(In '000 Hectares)

Classification	Area
1. Area according to village papers	3858
2. Forest	1055
3. Land put to non-agricultural uses	228
4. Barren and uncultivable land	110
5. Permanent pastures and other grazing lands	28
6. Land under miscellaneous crop trees	200
7. Cultivable Waste	108
8. Fallow land (other than current fallow)	32
9. Current fallow	33
10. Net area sown	2064
11. Total cropped area	2551

*Source: Statistical Hand Book, Kerala, 1966.

1.9 The above table relates to land utilisation in the entire State. Particulars regarding land utilisation in the tribal areas are not available.

1.10 Cropping Pattern: The more important crops grown in the State are rice, coconut, tapioca, banana, pulses, groundnut, rubber, pepper, cashewnut, arecanut, tea, coffee and cardamom. The State ranks first in the country in respect of the production of coconut. Rice, tapioca, coconut and pepper are the principal crops grown by the tribals.



CHAPTER - II

DEVELOPMENT PLANS

2.1 First Five Year Plan: Details regarding the provision made and expenditure incurred on schemes of tribal welfare during the First Plan period are not available. Physical targets for various schemes were not fixed. However, during the Plan an expenditure of Rs.64.90 lakhs was incurred on the welfare of Backward Classes including the Scheduled Tribes.

2.2 A modest beginning was made during the First Plan period to improve the economic condition of tribals by starting 15 Model Welfare Centres for imparting training in crafts like carpentry, rattan work, mat weaving, etc. Other activities in the First Plan period included the establishment of 4 colonies for the settlement of tribals and the starting of 4 Mobile Medical Units.

2.3 Second Five Year Plan: The Second Plan provided for an outlay of Rs.36.80 lakhs in the State Sector on schemes of tribal welfare. Against this, an expenditure of Rs.32.32 lakhs was incurred. The financial targets and achievements during the Second Plan are as under:-

Table - 3

Financial Targets and achievements
during Second Plan

Name of Scheme	(Rs. in lakhs)	
	Target	Achievement
1. Education (Maintenance of Schools and Hostels)	11.37	15.90
2. Medical and Public Health	3.53	1.15

Name of Scheme	Target	Achievement
3. Model Welfare Centres	3.10	1.85
4. Land Settlement including Housing and Common Buildings.	14.98	7.93
5. Forest Cooperatives	1.77	2.68
6. Administration	2.05	1.79
7. Grant for the purchase of agricultural implements.	..	1.02
Total:	<u>36.80</u>	<u>32.32</u>

It will be seen from the above table that the major shortfalls were under 'Housing' and 'Medical and Public Health'. This was partially offset by an increase in expenditure under 'Education'.

2.4 Apart from the outlay in the State Sector a sum of Rs.45.04 lakhs was spent on the welfare of Backward Classes under the Central Sector. As no separate figures of expenditure incurred on tribal welfare schemes are available the Study Team is unable to comment on the adequacy of the amounts spent on those schemes.

2.5 Education received special attention in the Second Plan. Scholarships and stipends were given to 33,168 tribal students and boarding grants to 424 children. Next in the order of priority came Agriculture. Grants for the purchase of agricultural implements were given to 868 tribal families. Among the other activities undertaken during the Second Plan were the construction of 40 houses for the settlement of the tribals, the opening of 13 Forest Cooperative Societies and the starting of 2 Mobile Medical Units.

2.6 Third Five Year Plan: The Third Plan provided for an outlay of Rs.41.36 lakhs for tribal welfare - Rs.28.56 lakhs in the State Sector and Rs.12.80 lakhs in the Central Sector. Against this provision, an expenditure of Rs.43.54 lakhs, - Rs.31.37 lakhs in the State Sector and Rs.12.17 lakhs in the Central Sector - was incurred. The per capita provision thus works out to Rs.19.44 and per capita expenditure to Rs.20.46. The financial targets and achievements during the Third Plan in the State Sector are as under:-

Table - 4

Financial Targets and Achievements during
Third Plan

Head of Development	(Rs. in lakhs)	
	Target	Achievement
I. Education	11.68	16.98
II. Economic Uplift	6.86	3.60
III. Health, Housing and Other Schemes.	10.02	10.79
Total:	28.56	31.37

Similar details for the Central Sector are not available

It will be seen from the above table that while expenditure exceeded the provision there was a shortfall of Rs.3.26 lakhs under 'Economic Uplift'. This was, however, more than made up under 'Education' where the expenditure exceeded the financial target.

2.7 The programmes already under way were continued in the Third Plan and a few new schemes were also undertaken. The emphasis again was on education. Scholarships and stipends were awarded to 66,552 tribal students and boarding grants to 453 children. 25 Residential Basic Schools were run and mid-day meals provided. Under 'Economic Uplift' 15 Model Welfare Centres started during the Second Plan were maintained and 10 Cooperative Societies were started. 400 tribal families were given grants for the purchase of agricultural implements, seeds, etc. and 210 houses were constructed for the settlement of tribal families. Under 'Medical and Public Health', 2 Mobile Medical Units, one Mid-wifery Training Centre and 10 Ayurvedic Dispensaries were started.

2.8 Under the centrally sponsored schemes, 21 Craft Centres were maintained for Scheduled Tribes and Post-matric scholarships were awarded to 403 tribal students. A Tribal Development Block was started at Attappady in Palghat district, which has a sizable population of Scheduled Tribes. Subsidy was given to technically trained tribals for enabling them to settle in the trade or occupation in which they had acquired proficiency. Annexure V contains a statement of physical targets proposed and achieved during the three Five Year Plans.

impact of the programmes on the progress, social and economic, of the tribal communities. A socio-economic survey of the Paniyans of Wynad was conducted in 1964 but informed opinion in Wynad seemed to regard it as an academic exercise of no great practical value. A more useful survey was, however, conducted by a former Collector of Palghat in the Attappady area.

While much work has been done in the three Plan periods for advancing the social and economic condition of the tribes it is broadly true that the results achieved are not commensurate with the expenditure incurred. It was the view of a knowledgeable Secretary to the State Government that the programmes for the development of tribal areas had not proceeded on right lines and that resources had been wasted on grandiose schemes of colonisation, housing, cooperation etc. which had conferred no tangible benefits on the tribals. The Study Team is in general agreement with this view. The schemes have failed in Kerala and elsewhere largely because of the failure of the planners to take into account the stage of development of the tribes for whom they were intended and of the conditions obtaining in the areas where they had to be implemented. In the opinion of the Study Team, the imposition of a uniform pattern, conceived on the lines of the general development programme, irrespective of the stage of development of the community sought to be benefited and ignoring the special conditions obtaining in the areas

2.9 Fourth Five Year Plan: The outlay proposed for schemes of tribal welfare in the Fourth Five Year Plan Draft Outline (1966-71) is Rs.46.82 lakhs. Under 'Education', the schemes include the opening of 24 Residential ^{Upr} ~~Primary~~ Schools and 2 hostels exclusively for tribals. A Book Bank Scheme has also been proposed for technical courses like Medical, Engineering etc. in the colleges of the State. Under 'Economic Uplift', out of 36 training centres functioning for the tribals, 3 are to be converted into training-cum-production centres. Subsidy at the rate of Rs.250/- per head is to be paid to 150 trainees to enable them to settle in the trade learnt by them. Four Forest Labour Cooperative Societies and one Collective Farming Society are also proposed to be set up. Under Health, Housing and Other Schemes, one Centre for the training of tribal women in midwifery is proposed to be started. Provision has also been made for the sinking of 96 wells in tribal areas and for making improvements in 9 tribal settlements. The Draft Fourth Plan also provides for the acquisition of 50 acres of land for distribution at the rate of 10 cents to a tribal family and for the payment of lump sum grants for the construction of houses.

2.10 Socio-Economic Survey: No comprehensive socio-economic survey appear to have preceded the formulation of the development programmes in any of the Plans; and in the absence of such a survey it is difficult to assess the

by the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, the Study Team would like to suggest that while formulating the general development programmes an attempt should be made to ensure that the tribals get their due share of the benefits flowing from general development programmes to which they are legitimately entitled as citizens of the State.



where the schemes are to be implemented is responsible for much of the waste noticed in the implementation of the development programmes in tribal areas. This waste could have been avoided if planning had been preceded by a socio-economic survey to help the planners with the data concerning the felt needs of the tribals and the conditions obtaining in the regions which they inhabit.

2.11 To avoid the pitfalls of the past the Study Team suggests that high priority should be given to socio-economic surveys in the Fourth Plan. The schemes formulated should be designed to meet the felt needs of the tribals and where there are pronounced disparities in development as between tribe and tribe special schemes should be undertaken to correct the imbalance.

2.12 Flow of funds from General Sector: Development programmes for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes, for which special provision is made in the Five Year Plans, are intended to supplement benefits accruing from schemes of development under the General Sector. In practice, however, the special provision is being treated as the only provision available for tribal welfare and no conscious attempt has been made to ensure that the tribals derive a reasonable share of benefits flowing from the general development programmes. Although the State Government has not considered it necessary to earmark a specified percentage of the general provision for tribal welfare as recommended

CHAPTER - III

ADMINISTRATION

3.1 As the population of Scheduled Tribes is small the State Government have not considered it necessary to set up a separate department for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes. Nor is there a separate Minister in charge of tribal welfare. There is, however, a Minister for Harijan Welfare who is also in charge of tribal welfare. The tribal welfare programmes are administered by the Director of Harijan Welfare who is responsible to Government for the formulation and implementation of welfare schemes relating to Backward Classes. In the only T.D. Block in the State at Attappady tribal development programmes are implemented by the Development Department. But in respect of certain schemes in the Block the Director of Harijan Welfare is the Technical Head.

3.2 The Harijan Welfare Department has two Wings - one incharge of the welfare schemes for the Scheduled Tribes and the other incharge of the schemes relating to Scheduled Castes. Each Wing is placed under a Deputy Director, who works under the general supervision and control of the Director of Harijan Welfare. The Director of Harijan Welfare is assisted by an Administrative Officer and a Financial Assistant. Other officers in the Director's organisation include a Tribal Officer and a Chief Industrial Supervisor.

3.3 At the district level, the District Welfare Officer, who works under the supervision and control of the District Collector, is in charge of the implementation of Welfare schemes for the tribals. Each taluk has a Taluk Welfare Inspector. In the Tribal Block at Attappady and the sub-blocks in Wynad the Block Development Officer functions as the Chief Executive Officer under the control of the District Collector.

3.4 An Inter-Departmental Committee has been constituted at the State level to ensure expedition in the formulation and implementation of development programmes in tribal areas. It was suggested to the Study Team that the Committee would be more effective if it was reorganised with the Minister of Harijan Welfare as its Chairman and the Heads of the Development Departments as its members. The Study Team commends the suggestion for the consideration of the State Government.

3.5 Two Welfare Officers have been appointed - one for North Wynad and the other for South Wynad - to work as Liaison Officers between the Paniyans and Adiyans and the departments in charge of law and order. The immediate purpose of their appointment is to see that the system of bonded labour, of which these two highly backward tribal communities are victims is abolished. But in the absence of statutory powers they cannot make their influence felt and are completely ineffective.

3.6 Wynad: Before its bifurcation Wynad taluk was a homogeneous administrative entity and formed a part of the former Malabar district. With the reorganisation of the districts after the formation of the Kerala State the northern half was carved out into a separate taluk and attached to the newly formed Cannanore district while the southern half became a taluk of the Calicut district. The Study Team considers that the division of the tribal belt of Wynad inhabited by the same tribal communities and presenting the same problems does not make for a coordinated approach and recommends that in the interests of economy and efficiency the artificial division of the area should be ended and the area after merger should be attached as a single taluk either to the Cannanore or the Calicut district.

3.7 The organisation of the Harijan Welfare Department leaves much to be desired. As pointed out by the Vellodi Committee the District Welfare Officers who are drawn from the ranks of Tehsildars "have neither the status nor the ability required to push through the departmental programmes at the district level." The Study Team is in entire agreement with the Committee's recommendation that the general control and supervision over the tribal and Harijan welfare activities should be made the responsibility of the District Collectors with the District Welfare Officers functioning as their Personal Assistants. The District Welfare Officers should be of the rank of Deputy Collectors.

3.8 The State Tribal Advisory Board: Paragraph 4 of the Fifth Schedule to the Constitution provides for the constitution of a Tribes Advisory Council for the Scheduled Areas. Where there are Scheduled Tribes but no Scheduled Areas in any State, the President is empowered to direct the setting up of a Tribes Advisory Council. In the Kerala State there are Scheduled Tribes but no Scheduled Areas. Nor is there any Tribes Advisory Council in the State. However, to advise Government on the formulation and implementation of the welfare schemes for the Scheduled Tribes, a Tribal Advisory Board at the State level was constituted in 1959-60. The Board consists of 15 to 20 members including non-officials and officials with the Minister for Harijan Welfare as its Chairman. The non-official members are drawn from the ranks of tribal M.L.As. and prominent social workers among the Scheduled Tribes. The Secretary to Government in charge of Harijan Welfare Department, Joint Secretary, Finance Department, Joint Secretary, Agriculture Department, Secretary, Board of Revenue, Chief Conservator of Forests, the Chief Engineer and Assistant Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are members, ex-officio, of the Board. The Director of Harijan Welfare is the Convener of the Board. The Board advises the Government on all matters relating to the amelioration of the condition of the Scheduled Tribes in the State and makes suggestions for

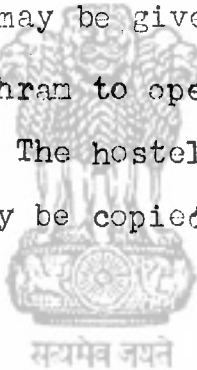
implementing the constitutional safeguards provided under the various Articles of the Constitution for the advancement of the Scheduled Tribes. The Board was convened twice in 1964 and once in 1966. At a meeting of the Board held on 6.9.1966 the suggestion was made that the Board should be convened once in three months. The Board, however, was not convened at all during the year 1967. Frequent and regular meetings of the Board are imperative if it has to play an effective role as an advisory body.

3.9 There is a District Advisory Committee in each district to look after the interests of the Backward Classes. The Committee consists of officials and non-officials. Non-official members are drawn from the ranks of MLAs and social workers. The District Collector is its Chairman and the District Welfare Officer the Convener. There are no representatives of Scheduled Tribes on the District Advisory Committees. The Team recommends that wherever there is a sizable population of Scheduled Tribes, adequate representation may be given to tribals of the areas in the District Advisory Committees. The Team was glad to note that the District Development Committees include some tribal members.

3.10 Voluntary Organisations: There are only a few voluntary organisations working for the uplift of the tribals. Notable amongst them are Adimjati Sevak Sangh

and Shri Ramakrishna Advaita Ashrama who are doing pioneering work in the field of education.

3.11 Shri Ramakrishna Ashram is running a tribal hostel at Kalady near Alwaye. A noteworthy feature of the tribal hostel is that/Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste students live and mix freely with students drawn from the upper strata of society. In the sense of brotherhood thus created, the tribal sheds his inhibitions and learns to live on terms of complete equality with students from the more advanced sections of the community. At present the Ashram pupils are taught only upto the Standard X. The Study Team recommends that adequate financial assistance may be given by the State Government to enable the Ashram to open classes upto the pre-university standard. The hostel run by the Ashram is a model and can usefully be copied in other tribal areas.



CHAPTER - IV

LAND PROBLEM AND INDEBTEDNESS

4.1 Land Holdings: Land holdings of tribals are generally small and fragmented. According to the 20% sample survey conducted during the last Census of the cultivating tribal households, 14.92% of the households had holdings of less than one acre, 38.38% of the households had holdings ranging from 1.0 to 2.4 acres and 25.58% ranging from 2.5 to 4.9 acres. Thus 78.88% of the households had holdings below 5 acres. Particulars regarding the cultivating households, the size of the holdings etc. in rural areas are shown in Annexure VI. According to the Economic Survey of Paniyans in Wynad conducted in 1964 very few Paniyans possessed land of their own. Most of them were labourers, often 'bonded', on the farms of the land owning class.

4.2 There is no law or regulation prohibiting the transfer of land from tribals to non-tribals. When the S.A. & S.T. Commission made its recommendations regarding the steps to be taken to safeguard the rights of the tribals in land, transfers of land to non-tribals had already taken place on a large scale following the massive migration in the fifties of men from the former States of Travancore and Cochin to the fertile areas of Wynad, the home of nearly 30% of the total tribal population in the State.

That process could have been arrested had the Commission's recommendations been followed up by swift action. But action has been delayed and alienations of tribal land have been allowed to go on unchecked. The Study Team understands that the bulk of the land belonging to the tribals in Wynad has passed into the hands of non-tribals and that even if the Bill to prevent alienations of tribal land, now under the consideration of the State Government, is passed into law it would not afford any significant relief to the dispossessed tribals unless retrospective effect is given to it. As there were no legal restraints on the sale of land by the tribals the Study Team fears that there may be serious difficulties in enacting such legislation and would suggest that the State Government may examine the legal and administrative implications of giving retrospective effect to it before taking a decision.

4.3 Kerala Land Assignment Rules: The Study Team regrets to observe that in the framing of the Kerala Land Assignment Rules the interests of the tribals have not been adequately safeguarded. The Rules provide for the reservation of 25% of Government land for allotment to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes subject to availability after allotment to persons already in occupation including encroachers where the encroachment is unobjectionable. The Study Team understands that the proviso which

confers, in effect, a pre-emptory right to land on the unauthorised occupier or encroacher has made the reservation ineffective and has to a large extent defeated its purpose as the encroacher is in most cases a non-tribal. And by equating the tribals with the Scheduled Castes for purposes of assignment the rules have placed the former at a disadvantage as the tribals have to compete with a section of the community which is politically powerful and far more vocal. The Study Team therefore recommends as follows:

- (a) The reservation of land for allotment to the weaker sections of the community should be absolute and the State Government should reserve to itself the right to evict encroachers should it find it necessary to do so in the interests of the tribals and Scheduled Castes, and
- (b) Separate percentages should be earmarked for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes depending on their population in the area. सत्यमेव जयते

4.4 According to the procedure prescribed by the State Government eligible persons are required to submit their applications in the prescribed form for the allotment of lands. The tribals, in many cases, are not aware of the procedure and being illiterate cannot fill in the forms prescribed for the purpose. Considering that the tribals, particularly in Wynad, are amongst the most backward in the country, the Study Team considers that while it is

important that special concessions should be extended to them to promote their welfare it is equally important that conditions should be created to enable them to take advantage of those concessions. Although the Welfare Department may be of some assistance to the tribals the Study Team suggests that the State Government may consider enlisting the cooperation of voluntary agencies for the purpose.

4.5 That even salutary measures undertaken for the benefit of the tribals can operate to their detriment if introduced without educating them as to the precise scope of the measures undertaken is illustrated by what has happened in the preparation of the Record of Rights under the Kerala Land Reforms Act, 1963, in respect of tribal holdings in Wynad and Attappady. Whereas the non-tribal landlords hung on to their lands and inflated their claims the tribals, unaware of the purpose and implications of the operation, allowed their claims to go by default even in respect of lands which were under their effective possession before the commencement of the operation. The Study Team understands that the only right that has accrued to them after the preparation of the Record of Rights is the right to a few cents of land on which they have erected their huts while they have lost for ever their right to the lands of which they were in occupation.

4.6 The Assignment Rules provide that the land granted on registry shall be heritable, but it shall not be alienated for a period of ten years from the date of registry thereof. This is a step in the right direction. However, the Team feels that the period of 10 years fixed by the State Government is somewhat short and would suggest that the period be raised to 15 or 20 years.

4.7 Land-tax Arrears: It was brought to the notice of the Study Team that the tribals in Attappady Block had been asked to pay arrears of land tax which have accrued over the last 10 years, commencing from the time of integration of the States of Travancore and Cochin with Malabar. This was in addition to the payment the tribals had to make to the Jenmis at Re.1/- per acre. The Study Team feels that it would be equitable if the tribals are exempted from the payment of the arrears of land-tax.

4.8 Indebtedness: Indebtedness is a drag on the economic development of tribals. No regular survey has been conducted in the State to assess the magnitude of indebtedness among the Scheduled Tribes. However, a limited survey on the economic condition of the Paniyans of Wynad conducted in 1964 reveals that about 36% of tribal households are in debt. Household expenditure and expenditure on ceremonials account for 68% of the loans.

4.9 There is no special law in the State to regulate the moneylending business in tribal areas. There is,

however, "The Agriculturists' Debt Relief Act" but the Act has not proved effective as the tribals do not believe in going to a court of law for redress. The Study Team understands that a bill for scaling down the past debts of Scheduled Tribes and for amending the existing law to protect their interests is under the active consideration of Government. The proposed legislation is not likely to make any impact on tribal indebtedness unless the tribals are made to understand the purpose of the legislation and are persuaded by official and non-official agencies to take advantage of it.

4.10 Bonded Labour: A system of attached labour, generally termed as 'bonded labour' is prevalent amongst the Paniyans and Adiyans of Wynad. Under this system, in consideration of the money received which rarely exceeds Rs.50/- the tribal has to work for the landlord on nominal wages for the period of contract, which is generally two years.

4.11 A survey of the economic condition of Paniyans in Wynad was conducted by the Bureau of Economics and Statistics in the year 1964-65. It covered 125 households of Paniyans extending over 5 villages. The survey revealed that the economic condition of the Paniyans was deplorable and that out of the selected households 43% were found to be 'bonded'. Among occupants of bonded

households the proportion of persons falling within the bonded fold came to 44%. On the whole 12% of the Paniyan population was found to be under 'bonded labour'.

4.12 The survey also revealed that the main reason for 'bonded labour' was "to get land to live in and to get work on all days". An analysis showed that 33% of the bonded labourers had elected 'bonded labour' without any specific condition, 12% "to get work on all days" and 10% "to get land to live in". The percentage distribution of households according to the reasons for choosing 'bonded labour' is given in the table below:

Table - 5

Percentage distribution of households and persons according to reasons for choosing bonded labour

S. No.	Reasons	Percentage distribution of households	Percentage distribution of persons
1	2	3	4
1.	To get land to live in	19	19
2.	To get work on all days	15	12
3.	To get work on all days and to get land to live in	35	36
4.	No specific reasons	31	33
Total:		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

4.13 Paniyans are usually attached to the same landlord continuously over a number of years. According to the survey 50% of the households were found to be in continuous employment under the same landlords for a period

ranging from 1 to 4 years and 19% of the households were in continuous service with the same landlord for over 25 years.

4.14 The S.A. & S.T. Commission had recommended the abolition of 'bonded labour' by legislation. A bill for the "Prevention of bonded labour and alienation of land from tribals to non-tribals" is now under the consideration of the State Government. Pending enactment of legislation the State Government have appointed Welfare Officers to work as Liaison Officers between the Paniyans and Adiyans and the various departments in charge of law and order and one of their functions is to see that 'bonded labour' is abolished. While the Study Team appreciates the steps taken by the State Government to put an end to this evil which is akin to **slavery** it would like to point out that mere legislation will not end a system hallowed by tribal tradition and custom over the years. But legislation will help to end it if it is accompanied by special measures to improve the economic condition of the tribals.

CHAPTER - V

AGRICULTURE AND ALLIED SECTORS

5.1 Kerala is by far the most thickly populated State in the Indian Union. Smallest among the States, it covers just 1.27% of the total area of the Union but supports nearly 4% of its population. It is not therefore, surprising that the pressure of population on land is exceptionally high in the State. Despite the scarcity of land available for cultivation and diversification of the economy during the three Five Year Plans agriculture continues to be the mainstay of the tribal population. According to the occupational distribution of workers among the Scheduled Tribes made during the last Census, 67.06% of the tribals are dependent upon agriculture either as cultivators or as agricultural labourers.

5.2 The principal crops grown by the tribals are rice, tapioca, coconut, cardamom and pepper. The agricultural practices and the cropping pattern followed by the tribals are similar to the traditional practices followed in the neighbouring villages. However, the tribal areas do not appear to have received any significant benefit by the schemes formulated under the general development programmes. Assistance to tribals for the development of agriculture has taken the form of grants for the purchase of agricultural implements, seeds etc. 868 tribal families received such grants during the Second Plan period and 400 tribal families during the Third Plan period.

5.3 Colonisation Scheme: A Committee with Shri Mackay as Chairman was constituted in 1955 by the former Travancore-Cochin Government to enquire into the condition of the Scheduled Tribes and make recommendations for their economic betterment. Based on the recommendations of the Committee three Pilot Schemes - Edamalai Scheme for Muthuvans, Champakad for Hill Pulayas and Kuriarkutty for Kadars - were started in 1957. The schemes were in the charge of a Special Officer who was assisted by three Executive Assistants, (one for each scheme). 20 acres of land were allotted for each of these schemes and seeds and seedlings were supplied to the tribals for cultivation. Each of these colonies had a provision store for the supply of articles of daily use to the tribals. A school for the children of the tribals was also opened in each colony. Similar schemes were started subsequently in Achanocoil for Malaipandarams, in Mannankandam for Mannars and Mala Arayas, in Chingeri for Paniyans and in Kannavam for Kurichchans.

5.4 The Study Team visited the colony established in 1961 at Kannavam to settle 70 tribal families of Kurichchans. Each family has been allotted 4 acres of cultivable land and houses have been constructed for them. A non-residential nursery school, a primary school and a craft centre have been opened in the colony. An Ayurvedic dispensary provides medical relief. A Forest Cooperative

Society has been organised to provide a subsidiary occupation to the tribals.

5.5 The tribals appreciated the development programmes undertaken for their welfare but did not like the layout of the colony. Their main complaint was that their houses were built far away from their fields and that as a result they could not devote adequate attention to their crops and protect them from the depredations of wild animals. Nor did they like the design of the houses constructed for them. The Team would like to point out that there is a real danger of houses built on stereotyped lines being rejected by the tribals, more especially if they do not conform to their traditional ideas of layout and design. It therefore suggests that it should be made a rule that consultation with tribals to ascertain their wishes regarding the location of the colony and design of houses should invariably precede the construction of houses for them. This is not to suggest that houses built for tribals should not be improvements over the structures they normally build for themselves but that the improvements should be in accord with their ideas and superstitions regarding layout and design.

5.6 The Study Team visited another colony at Pathaikara in Palghat district where an attempt has been made to rehabilitate a few families of Kadugas (locally known as Alars, meaning "Cavemen"), an extremely backward

tribe whose members are still in the food-gathering stage. Half an acre of land has been given to each family and tiled houses have been constructed for them. The scheme is still in an experimental stage. As half an acre of land is hardly sufficient to maintain a family the Study Team fears that the prospects of success are remote and that the scheme is likely to go the way of similar schemes undertaken in Kerala and elsewhere which have, by and large, ended in failure. Before embarking on colonisation schemes it is important that the prospects of success should be carefully assessed and steps taken to anticipate and avoid the mistakes which have occasioned the failure of similar schemes in the past. The Study Team, in the course of its tours, has observed that more money has been wasted on land colonisation schemes with their ambitious housing adjuncts than on any other single measure undertaken for the benefit of the tribals. While it would be appropriate to build tiled houses for ~~tribes~~ tribals living in urban areas it is unnecessary extravagance to build in remote forests tiled structures which the occupants can hardly be expected to maintain. The Study Team has come across thatched houses built for the tribals at a tenth of the cost which were as comfortable to live in as the tiled houses. A tribal knows how to plug a leak in a thatched roof but is helpless when a tile gives way.

5.7 At Cheengeri in South Wynnad the Study Team was gratified to see at work a carefully thought out scheme for the rehabilitation of 100 families of Paniyans. The scheme, which is still in the stage of implementation, is a model of what a colonisation scheme should be. Advantage has been taken of the suitability of the region for coffee cultivation and out of 100 acres set apart for it, 67 acres have already been planted by the tribals. To provide work and training in agriculture a 50 acre Model Food Production Farm is attached to the plantation. Each tribal family will be allotted two acres of land for coffee cultivation and three acres for food production. It is the intention to parcel out the Model Food Production Farm amongst the tribal families when they attain a reasonable degree of proficiency in the art of cultivation. Wells have been sunk for the supply of drinking water and a school has been opened for the education of the children. The whole scheme is in the charge of the Superintendent of the Agricultural Research Institute at Ambalavayal in South Wynnad. Had land been available the Study Team would have recommended the opening of many more such farms for the rehabilitation of the tribals of this region but, unfortunately, owing to what - in view of our obligations to the weaker sections of community under the Constitution - appears to be an inexcusable lapse, no attempt was made to reserve land for the tribals or otherwise safeguard their rights in land when

men from the plains poured into this fertile valley in successive waves during the last fifteen years and, helped by the assignment rules which were weighted in their favour, proceeded to dispossess them and occupy practically every piece of cultivable land in the area.

5.8 Forests: Forests cover an area of 10,515 sq.kms., or roughly 27% of the total geographical area of the State. Tribal rights in forests are regulated by the Kerala Hillmen Rules, 1964. These Rules have been framed for the protection, advancement, treatment and management of hill tribes. The following are some of the more important rights and concessions allowed to the tribals under the Rules:

- (1) Cultivation of land free of tax in the reserved forests to the extent of 1 acre per member of a family subject to a minimum area of 3 acres and a maximum of 15 acres for a family. The lands so occupied are heritable but inalienable.
- (2) Extraction of timber other than the timber of the reserved trees as well as firewood bamboos, reeds, and canes for their own bona fide domestic and agricultural purposes.
- (3) Collection of minor forest products either for their own consumption or for sale or for both when not collected by Government or leased by Government to contractors or lessees.

5.9 To prevent exploitation by traders the Rules provide for the licensing of dealers who supply articles of daily use to the tribals. The dealers are required

to maintain proper accounts of all their transactions. They are prohibited from lending money to the tribals or entering into any credit transactions with them or supplying them intoxicating liquors or drugs.

5.10 The concessions admissible under the Hillmen Rules are confined to reserved forests and do not apply to other classified forests. The Study Team suggests that the question of allowing reasonable concessions to tribals in forests other than reserved forests may be examined by the State Government.

5.11 Forests are worked mostly through the Forest Department and through contractors. There are a few Forest Labour Cooperative Societies but their performance has generally been disappointing. It was brought to the notice of the Team that a Forest Cooperative Society which was functioning in Kannavam had done a good job and made a profit. But the application of the society for coupes for the year 1967-68 had been rejected by the Forest Department. As the Team is not aware of the full facts of the case, it is unable to offer any comments on the action of the Forest Department but would suggest that the State Government may look into the matter.

5.12 Tribals are appointed as watchers, mahouts, peons, guards etc. 50% of the vacancies of guards and

watchers in the Wild Life Department are reserved for local hill tribes for whom educational qualifications have been relaxed. The tribals are also employed by the Forest Department as mazdoors on daily wages.

5.13 Soil Conservation: Shifting cultivation is practised in a few places, but this is not a serious problem in the State. Soil conservation and contour bunding schemes on agricultural land are in operation in tribal colonies at Attappady in Palghat district, at Manakandam in Kottayam district and at Kannavam in Cannanore district.

5.14 Under the Kerala Land Development Act No.17 of 1964, 25% of the actual expenditure incurred on the soil conservation schemes is treated as subsidy to be shared equally by the Central and State Governments while the remaining 75% of the expenditure has to be borne by the beneficiaries and repaid with interest at 5½% in 15 equal annual instalments. The Act makes no distinction between tribal and non-tribal areas. The tribals are too poor to pay the contribution expected of them and to insist on a cash contribution would be to deny them the benefit of the soil conservation measures. While cash contribution may be waived it would be reasonable, in the opinion of the Team, to expect the tribals to make a contribution in the shape of labour.

5.15 The question of undertaking soil conservation measures on a planned basis in tribal areas does not

appear to have been considered by the State Government. Wynad is an integral part of an extensive tribal belt which spreads into the States of Madras and Mysore. The problem of soil conservation in the area lying in Kerala cannot be isolated from a similar problem facing the adjoining areas lying in the neighbouring States. If lasting results are to be achieved no where is an area approach more imperative than in the field of soil conservation. Any programme of soil conservation to be effective should, in the opinion of the Study Team, be drawn up after a survey of the entire area by a joint team of officers of the States concerned.

5.16 Fisheries: There is not much scope for the development of fisheries in tribal areas which are mostly confined to forests and hills. However, it should be possible to reorient the general fisheries programme to enable tribals living in the vicinity of major reservoirs to benefit by schemes undertaken for the exploitation of fish in those reservoirs. It may be relevant to point out here that the stocking of major reservoirs at Malampuzha, Peechi, Walayar, Meenkara, Wazhani and Neyyer has already been taken up.

5.17 The Study Team is glad to note that the Harijan Welfare Department, in consultation with the Fisheries Department, has as a first step deputed tribal boys for training in the Fisheries Research

Institute. This should be followed up by measures of practical utility to the tribals.

5.18 Minor Irrigation: No comprehensive survey has been conducted to ascertain the irrigation potential in the tribal areas. The Team understands that 37 irrigation schemes costing about Rs.35,000/- have been prepared to harness the waters of 3 perennial rivers passing through the Attappady Valley. These schemes have been sanctioned by the Block Development Committee and some of them have already been taken up for execution. The schemes when fully implemented are expected to irrigate an area of about 25 sq. miles. Priority has been given to the Attappady Block in the matter of implementation of irrigation schemes.

To meet the immediate needs of the tribals in Attappady 3 pumping sets have been given to them free of cost and 7 irrigation wells have been constructed under the C.D. Programme.

5.19 Provision has been made in the general sector of the State's Fourth Plan for the sinking of new wells, restoration of old wells and construction of new tanks and reservoirs. But no special programme of minor irrigation appears to have been prepared for the tribal areas for incorporation in the Plan. The Team feels that there is no justification for the complete neglect of the interests of the tribals in the provision of

irrigation facilities and would suggest that a survey of irrigation potential be undertaken in all the tribal areas and irrigation facilities provided in accordance with a phased programme.

5.20 Horticulture: The more important schemes undertaken for the promotion of horticulture during 1966-67 relate to the establishment of school gardens, community gardens, home gardens and the establishment of 5 fruit Preservation Units for which equipment was supplied by the UNICEF.

5.21 Animal Husbandry: The activities relating to animal husbandry are mainly confined to the Attappady Block area. Other tribal areas do not appear to have received any noticeable benefit from the schemes formulated under the general development programme. There is no justification for ignoring the needs of the tribal areas while formulating development programmes.

5.22 A Veterinary Dispensary and 2 Veterinary Sub-centres are functioning in the Attappady Block. But no special programme for the development of animal husbandry on scientific lines has been formulated.

5.23 Poultry: As in the case of animal husbandry, the programme of poultry development is confined to the Attappady T.D. Block. Deep Litter Poultry Units have been started in the block area. Birds have been supplied to the tribals at half the cost. As poultry can be a source of nutritious food to the tribals, the Study Team recommends that steps may be taken to introduce poultry development schemes in other tribal areas.

CHAPTER - VI

EDUCATION

6.1 Educationally the most progressive State in the Indian Union the level of literacy in Kerala stood at 46.8% against 24.0% for the Union as a whole at the time of the 1961 Census. The level of literacy among Scheduled Tribes is much lower, the overall percentage being about 17%. The Paniyans of Wynad are, however, most backward educationally. 96% of them are illiterate.

6.2 Tribal education has been accorded the highest priority in schemes of tribal welfare in the Five Year Plans. There are 41 government residential basic schools, three of which are exclusively for tribal girls. There is an additional class in the G.R.B. School at Mukkali. There are in addition four government non-residential basic schools. The government residential basic schools have caught the imagination of the tribals and are popular with them. The State Government propose to open 24 residential upper primary schools and 2 hostels exclusively for tribals during the Fourth Plan period.

6.3 The tribal schools are being run on the same lines as other general schools and the method of teaching, curriculum, etc. are also the same as in other schools. The medium of instruction in all the tribal schools is Malayalam except in schools in certain border areas where it is Tamil or Canares. There is no restriction on the

admission to the tribal schools of students belonging to other communities. This is a salutary practice as it enables the tribal students to come in contact with students of other communities at an early stage and helps them to shed their inhibitions and develop a sense of equality with the rest of population. Though these schools are called basic schools there are no special features to distinguish them from ordinary schools. The administrative control of these schools, other than G.R.B. schools, has been taken over by the Education Department. The Study Team was given to understand that this had been done to improve the standard of education by the appointment of qualified teachers in place of unqualified men who usually taught at these schools. It has, however, not been possible for the Education Department to pay special attention to the needs of the tribal schools. The Study Team, therefore, suggests that the administrative control over these schools may be transferred to the Director of Harijan Welfare and that an educationist of the rank of District Education Officer may be deputed to assist him in ensuring that there is no deterioration in the standards of teaching.

6.4 The government residential basic school is conducted by a single-teacher (teacher-cum-warden) who stays with the children in the hostel. Initially 30 tribal students are admitted to the first standard. After the first year of study they are promoted to the second

standard and the same teacher continues with them till they pass the fourth standard. There is no fresh intake of students during four years following the initial admission of students. The result is that children in the school-going age group in the area are denied the facilities of education in G.R.B. schools. The Study Team considers that this is a position which ought not to be allowed to continue and recommends that there should be a regular intake of students to the first standard every year and that as it is difficult for one teacher to handle all the classes the number of teachers should be increased.

6.5 Besides the residential schools run by the Government there are 21 private subsidised hostels in the State which are given lumpsum boarding grants for the maintenance of tribal children. The Fourth Plan provides for grants to voluntary organisations for starting hostels for tribal students. Two such grants have already been sanctioned - one for the hostel in Attappady Valley in Palghat district and the other at Kalpetta in Koshikode district. The Team had occasion to visit the Tribal Hostel run by Shri Ramakrishna Advaita Mission at Kalady near Alwaye. There are 60 tribal boys in the hostel. The Ashram gets a grant of Rs.36,000/- per annum from the Centre for the maintenance of the tribal boys. It was represented to the Study Team that owing to a steep rise in the level of prices of all commodities the

grant had been found to be insufficient in 1966-67 and that as they had refunded the unspent balances in the two preceding years the additional expenditure incurred in 1966-67 should, in fairness, be reimbursed to the Ashram. It was also brought to its notice that a lakh of rupees had been sanctioned for the construction of a kitchen, a dining hall etc. and that in view of the sharp increase in the cost of materials ~~the~~ amount sanctioned would not be sufficient for completing the work which was under way. The Ashram is doing commendable work in the field of tribal education. The main barrier in the way of advancement of the tribals is psychological - a feeling of inferiority engendered in them by centuries of social repression. The free intermingling of tribal and non-tribal students at the Ashram has helped to break this barrier in a manner seldom seen in similar schools elsewhere. The Study Team, therefore, recommends that adequate financial assistance should be given to the Ashram by the State and Central Governments to meet its financial commitments and to expand its activities.

6.6 In the course of its visits to the tribal areas, the following problems in regard to tribal education were brought to the notice of the Study Team:

1. No special allowances are given to the teachers working in tribal schools. They, however, are paid the hill

tract allowance, as admissible to teachers of ordinary schools, if the area in which they work is a specified hilly tract. As there is no incentive to work in tribal areas where conditions are difficult qualified and trained teachers do not generally come forward to serve in tribal schools.

2. The T.C. Wardens of the G.R.B. schools are paid a monthly allowance (honorarium) of Rs.20/- in addition to their usual pay and allowances. The allowance is inadequate and not commensurate with the additional responsibilities involved.

3. Teachers are not provided with residential accommodation. This makes it difficult for them to stay in the tribal areas where there are no private houses which can be taken on rent.

4. The educational facilities provided at the upper primary and secondary stages are utterly inadequate. In Attappady the children have to go all the way to Palghat for admission to the free-residential high school after passing the fourth standard.

To overcome these difficulties, which are genuine the Study Team makes the following recommendations:

1. Residential accommodation should be provided for teachers working in tribal areas and the compensatory allowance given, should be sufficiently attractive to make them 'stay put' for at least three years.

2. More upper primary and secondary schools should be opened at selected places in tribal areas with boarding facilities to enable the tribal children to pursue their studies after the primary stage.

6.7 The general qualifications fixed for appointment as primary teachers have been relaxed in the case of tribal men and women. In the absence of an adequate number of qualified tribals relaxation of qualifications cannot be avoided. There are 209 men and 119 women teachers belonging to the Scheduled Tribes in the State.

6.8 A scheme is in force to give special coaching to pre-degree students. Tutors have been appointed in the Welfare and Cosmopolitan Hostels run by the Department to give coaching to the boarders.

6.9 Wastage and Stagnation: It is observed that wastage in education amongst tribals is considerable. In fact, only a small percentage of children after completing the primary stage join upper primary schools or middle schools. And even out of those who join there are very few who join the high schools or higher secondary schools. It is not therefore surprising that the number of tribal students at the University stage is very small. One reason for this state of affairs is the inadequacy of educational facilities at upper primary and higher secondary stages.

6.10 Tribal children in the State are as intelligent as non-tribal children. It has, therefore, come as a surprise

to the Study Team that in a State where education has received the highest priority the tribal communities have not produced even a handful of graduates. Talent, when discovered, should be encouraged and bright students should be assisted in every way to pursue their studies - even if it means subsidising their parents - from the primary to the University stage and even beyond. This will be possible only if the Harijan Welfare Department takes a parental interest in their progress. The Study Team suggests that it should be possible to draw up a scheme for spotting talent and watching the progress of promising tribal students. The absence of a scheme for a systematic 'follow-up' accounts, in the opinion of the Study Team, for much of the wastage noticed in the education of tribals.

6.11 Vocational Education: A number of craft centres are functioning in tribal areas and impart training in carpentry, mat weaving, rattan work etc. to tribal students. The duration of the training is two years and the trainees are given stipends. The Study Team is constrained to observe that the training imparted is not linked to job opportunities and that skill acquired after completion of the training period is not utilised by the trainees to earn a living. This was also the view of the Vellodi Committee.

TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

7.1 The Study Team understands that a programme for the widening of roads and for the construction of new roads in tribal areas has been drawn up by ~~the~~ Public Works Department under the departmental coordination programme. The Team has not been able to obtain details of the programme.

7.2 Lack of communications has been largely responsible for the isolation of the tribals. The importance of communications in the tribal economy hardly needs any emphasis but what one ought to guard against is the danger of plainsmen invading the tribal areas to exploit the tribals. The fact that no steps were taken to safeguard the interests of the tribals in Wynad after the area was opened up enabled the plainsmen to grab their lands and reduce them to their present helpless condition.

7.3 While suggesting that a reasonable percentage of the provision made under transport and communications in the State's Five Year Plans should be earmarked for the development of communications in tribal areas, the Team would stress the need for simultaneous action to protect the interests of the tribals in the newly opened up areas.

INDUSTRIES

8.1 Cottage and Rural Industries: There are at present 15 Model Welfare Centres and 21 Craft Centres functioning in the tribal areas. These centres impart training in carpentry, mat-weaving, rattan, knitting, tailoring etc. for a period of two years. While deciding on the location of the centres the ready availability of the raw materials and the aptitude of the tribals for the trades offered are taken into account. A stipend of Rs.40/- per month per head is given during the period of training. Seats are also reserved for the Scheduled Tribes in the Industrial Training Institutes started in the general sector. To create employment opportunities provision has been made in the Fourth Plan to convert 3 existing training centres into production-cum-training centres. The Team would however, like to point out that if production-cum-training centres are to succeed, goods produced should be of marketable quality and should find a ready market.

8.2 To study the working of the Industrial Training Centres and to suggest ways and means for their improvement an official committee consisting of the Director of Harijan Welfare, Registrar of Cooperative Societies, Director of Technical Education, Director of Industries and Commerce and Director of Employment was constituted. The report of the committee is under the examination by Government.

8.3 The Study Team regrets to observe that the skills acquired after the completion of the training are, generally speaking, not utilised by the trainees to earn a living. There is no follow-up programme and no attempt is made to find jobs for boys trained in Craft Centres and Industrial Training Institutes. Where the training is not linked to job opportunities the money spent on such training is a sheer waste of public funds. The Team would in this connection like to sound a note of warning against the tendency to impart superficial training which is of no value whatsoever. Trainees should be acceptable to employers on the basis of their proficiency and the skills acquired should be such as to enable them to produce goods of marketable quality. The Team therefore suggests that instead of wasting scarce resources in imparting technical education of a superficial type to a very large number of boys who cannot use the skills acquired to earn a living it would be better to concentrate effort on a few training-cum-production centres and impart intensive training to a limited number of students. Large scale unemployment after training, especially in the case of tribals whose reluctance to send their children to school has now to be overcome by the offer of incentives, may bring the whole system of vocational education into disrepute amongst the tribals.

CHAPTER - IX

MEDICAL AND PUBLIC HEALTH

9.1 Mobile Medical Units were started during the First Plan period to provide medical relief to the tribals living in widely scattered areas in forests. Eight Medical Mobile Units were functioning in tribal areas at the end of the Third Plan period. Of these two were under the Harijan Welfare Department and the remaining under the Health Service Department. As the tribals showed a preference for Ayurvedic treatment 10 Ayurvedic Dispensaries were started in tribal areas during the Third Plan period. List of such dispensaries is given in Annexure VII. These dispensaries are reported to be working satisfactorily. In view of the satisfactory response shown by the tribals, it is proposed to start 16 more Ayurvedic Dispensaries during the Fourth Plan period.

9.2 There is a regular hospital functioning in the Attappady Block. Attached to it is a mobile unit. The hospital has a bed strength of 10. It was represented to the Team that the bed strength should be increased to 50 and that X-ray facilities should be made available in the hospital.

9.3 To overcome the shortage of trained mid-wives to work in tribal areas, a Mid-wifery Training Centre for imparting training in nursing and mid-wifery course for tribal women was started during the Third Plan period. 20 tribal women have so far received training in this Centre.

One more Centre is proposed to be started during the Fourth Plan.

9.4 While additional remuneration is admissible to the medical staff working in tribal areas under the Harijan Welfare Department a similar inducement has been denied to the medical staff of other Departments working in the same areas. As a result, some of the dispensaries and hospitals run by the Health Service Department are at times without doctors. The Team recommends that the benefit of the additional remuneration admissible to the medical staff of the Harijan Welfare Department should be extended to the medical staff of other Departments.

9.5 Family Planning: There is no separate scheme of family planning for the Scheduled Tribes. There is, however, a general scheme of the Health Service Department. The tribals of Attappady practise family planning but the practice has nothing to do with the propaganda now being carried on to restrict births. They have their own indigenous herbs which seem to be very effective. The herbs used and the methods adopted are a tribal secret. A tribal family normally has only two or three children and restriction on the size of the family is stated to be deliberate.

9.6 Drinking Water Supply: The Public Health Engineering Department is in charge of the construction of

wells and the laying of pipe lines for the supply of drinking water in tribal settlements. During the Second Plan period, 26 drinking water wells were constructed and five Water Supply Schemes involving the laying of pipe lines were completed.

9.7 The Draft Fourth Plan provides for the sinking of 96 drinking water wells in tribal settlements. It was brought to the notice of the Study Team that there was scarcity of drinking water in the Attappady Valley and Kannavam colony. The Team suggests that a phased programme to provide drinking water to the tribals may be drawn up after a survey of the tribal villages, giving priority to places where the supply of drinking water is scarce.



CHAPTER - X

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, COOPERATION AND PANCHAYATI RAJ

10.1 The State is divided into 144 development blocks of which 143 are Community Development Blocks and one is a Tribal Development Block. The Tribal Development Block is located at Attappady in Palghat district. The remaining tribal areas are largely covered by the Community Development Blocks. No study has, however, been made to ascertain the extent to which the activities of the Community Development Blocks have benefited the tribals.

10.2 The Tribal Development Block at Attappady was started in 1962. A survey of the block was conducted before drawing up a programme for the development of the area. The Study Team understands that development plans have been drawn up on the basis of the survey report. The block covers an area of 280 sq. miles and has a population of 21,600 of which the tribal population is 13,133. As more T.D. Blocks cannot be opened in the State in view of the criteria laid down by Government of India, a scheme for the setting up of sub-blocks in areas where the tribal population is large has been taken up. Three sub-blocks were started in 1966-67 in North Wynad, South Wynad and Udumbanchola. Particulars regarding the area, population and the allocation made for various schemes for 1966-67 are

as under:-

- Table - 6

Area, Population and Amount allocated for
Sub-Blocks

Name of Tribal Sub-Block	Area covered (sq. km.)	Total population	Tribal population	Amount allotted to each Sub-Block for the year 1966-67		
				House constr-uction.	Purchase of Agri. implements	Community amenities
1. Manantoddy	464.37	90200	21,346	60,000	20,000	20,000
2. Sultan Battery	960.74	114590	62,800	60,000	20,000	20,000
3. Arudai	413.7	155584	3,112	60,000	20,000	20,000

10.3 The schemes implemented under these Sub-Blocks relate to the following:

- 1) Provision of house-sites;
- 2) Assistance for cultivation purposes;
- 3) Provision of Community amenities.

Two more Sub-Blocks were proposed to be started during 1967-68. These could not, however, be opened for want of funds.

10.4 Cooperation: There are in all 48 Scheduled Tribes Cooperative Societies which are mostly multipurpose or agricultural. The societies provide credit to the tribals to enable them to start cottage industries and to undertake joint agricultural operations and other activities calculated to improve their economic condition.

10.5 There are 4 Multipurpose Cooperative Societies, one Industrial Cooperative Society and one Joint Cooperative Farming Society in the T.D. Block at Attappady. These societies are managed by tribals who are assisted by the block staff. Tribals are engaged as salesmen in the consumer wing of the societies. These Multi-purpose Cooperative Societies are reported to be functioning satisfactorily. A farming society exclusively for Scheduled Tribes has been organised at Mukkli on an experimental basis. If it proves successful, similar societies will be organised in other tribal areas.

10.6 A Forest Labourers' Cooperative Society on the Maharashtra pattern was organised in 1964-65 at Kannavam with a working capital of Rs.25,000/-. Two more Labour Forest Cooperative Societies were started in 1966-67 in the tribal Sub-Blocks at Udumbanchola and South Wynad. The society at Kannavam was allotted 25 acres of forest land for clear-felling of trees. Although the performance of the society was satisfactory its application for coupes for the year 1967-68 has been rejected by the Forest Department. As it is important to ensure that the refusal is not a concession to vested interests the Team has suggested elsewhere that the State Government should look into the case.

10.7 Panchayati Raj: The three-tier system of Panchayati Raj has not been introduced in the State so far. There are

however, 922 Panchayats functioning in the State under the Kerala Panchayati Act 1960. A Bill to introduce the three-tier system was placed before the Legislature in 1964 but it could not be passed. The Study Team understands that steps are under way to introduce a fresh Bill in place of the old one which has lapsed.



SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Chapter II - DEVELOPMENT PLANS

1. To avoid the pitfalls of the past, high priority should be given to socio-economic surveys in the Fourth Plan. The schemes formulated should be designed to meet the felt needs of the tribals and where there are pronounced disparities in development as between tribe and tribe special schemes should be undertaken to correct the imbalance. (Para 2.11)
2. While formulating the general development programmes an attempt should be made to ensure that the tribals get their due share of the benefits flowing from such programmes to which they are legitimately entitled as citizens of the State. (Para 2.12)

Chapter III - ADMINISTRATION

3. The inter-departmental Committee constituted to ensure expedition in the formulation and implementation of development programmes in tribal areas should be reorganised with the Minister of Harijan Welfare as its Chairman and the Heads of Development Departments as its members. (Para 3.4)
4. The Study Team considers that the division of the tribal belt of Wynad inhabited by the same tribal communities and presenting the same problems does not make for a coordinated approach and recommends that in the interests of economy and efficiency the artificial division of the areas should be ended and the area after merger attached as a single taluk either to the Cannanore or the Calicut district. (Para 3.6)
5. The Study Team is in entire agreement with the Vellodi Committee's recommendation that the general control and supervision over the tribal and Harijan welfare activities should be made the responsibility of the District Collectors with the District Welfare Officers functioning as their personal assistants. The District Welfare Officers should be of the rank of Deputy Collectors. (Para 3.7)
6. Frequent and regular meetings of the Tribal Advisory Board are imperative if it has to play an effective role as an advisory body. (Para 3.8)

7. Wherever there is a sizable population of Scheduled Tribes, adequate representation may be given to tribals of the area in the District Advisory Committees. (Para 3.9)

8. Adequate financial assistance may be given by the State Government to enable Shri Ramakrishna Ashram to open classes upto the pre-university standard. The hostel run by the Ashram at Kalady is a model and can usefully be copied in other tribal areas. (Para 3.11)

Chapter IV - LAND PROBLEM AND INDEBTEDNESS

9. As there were no legal restraints on the sale of land by the tribals the Study Team fears that there may be serious difficulties in enacting legislation, now under the consideration of the State Government, for prohibiting the transfer of land from tribals to non-tribals and would suggest that the State Government may examine the legal and administrative implications of giving retrospective effect to it before taking a decision. (Para 4.2)

10(a) The reservation of land for allotment to the weaker sections of the community should be absolute and the State Government should reserve to itself the right to evict encroachers should it find it necessary to do so in the interests of the tribals and Scheduled Castes, and

(b) Separate percentages should be earmarked for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes depending on their population in the area (Para 4.3)

11. As the tribals, particularly in Wynad, are amongst the most backward in the country, special concessions in the matter of allotment of land should be extended to them and conditions created to enable them to take advantage of those concessions. The State Government may consider enlisting the cooperation of voluntary agencies for assisting the tribals in submitting their application in the prescribed form for the allotment of land. (Para 4.4)

12. The period of ten years from the date of registry, during which land allotted to the tribals cannot be alienated, is somewhat short and the period be raised to 15 or 20 years. (Para 4.6)

13. It would be equitable if the tribals in Attappady Block are exempted from payment of the arrears of land tax which have accrued over the last ten years. (Para 4.7)

14. The proposed Bill for scaling down the past debts of Scheduled Tribes is not likely to make any impact on tribal indebtedness unless the tribals are made to understand the purpose of the legislation and are persuaded by official and non-official agencies to take advantage of it. (Para 4.9)

15. Mere legislation will not put an end to the system of 'bonded labour' which is hallowed by tribal tradition and custom over the years. Legislation will help to end it if it is accompanied by special measures to improve the economic condition of the tribals. (Para 4.14)

Chapter V - AGRICULTURE AND ALLIED SECTORS

16. It should be made a rule that consultation with tribals to ascertain their wishes regarding the location of the colony and design of houses should invariably precede the construction of houses for them. (Para 5.5)

17. Before embarking on colonisation schemes it is important that the prospects of success should be carefully assessed and steps taken to anticipate and avoid the mistakes which have occasioned the failure of similar schemes in the past (Para 5.6)

18. No attempt was made to reserve land for the tribals or otherwise safeguard their rights on land when men from the plains poured into Wynad in successive waves during the last fifteen years and proceeded to dispossess the tribals and occupy practically every piece of cultivable land in the area (Para 5.7)

19. The question of allowing reasonable concessions to tribals in forests other than reserved forests may be examined by the State Government. (Para 5.10)

20. While cash contribution in the soil conservation schemes may be waived it would be reasonable to expect the tribals to make a contribution in the shape of labour (Para 5.14)

21. The problem of soil conservation in the area lying in Kerala cannot be isolated from a **similar** problem facing the adjoining areas lying in the neighbouring States. Any programme of soil conservation to be effective should be drawn up after a survey of the entire tribal belt spreading into the States of Kerala, Madras and Mysore by a joint team of officers of the States concerned. (Para 5.15)

22. It should be possible to reorient the general fisheries programme to enable tribals living in the vicinity of major reservoirs to benefit by schemes undertaken for the exploitation of fish in those reservoirs. (Para 5.16)

23. Training in the Fisheries Research Institute should be followed up by measures of practical utility to the tribals. (Para 5.17)

24. There is no justification for the complete neglect of the interests of the tribals in the provision of irrigation facilities. A survey of irrigation potential may be undertaken in all the tribal areas and irrigation facilities provided in accordance with a phased programme (Para 5.19)

25. As poultry can be a source of nutritious food to the tribals steps may be taken to introduce poultry development schemes in all the tribal areas (Para 5.23)

Chapter VI - EDUCATION

26. The administrative control over the tribal schools may be transferred to the Director of Harijan Welfare and an educationist of the rank of District Education Officer may be deputed to assist him in ensuring that there is no deterioration in the standards of teaching. (Para 6.3)

27. There should be a regular intake of students to the first standard every year and as it **is** difficult for one teacher to handle all the classes the number of teachers should be increased. (Para 6.4)

28. Adequate financial assistance should be given to Shri Ramakrishna Advaita Mission by the State and Central Governments to meet its financial commitments and to expand its activities. (Para 6.6)

29. Residential accommodation should be provided for teachers working in tribal areas and the compensatory allowance given, should be sufficiently attractive to make them 'stay put' for at least three years. (Para 6.6(1))

30. More upper primary and secondary schools should be opened at selected places in tribal areas with boarding facilities to enable the tribal children to pursue their studies after the primary stage. (Para 6.6(2))

31. It should be possible to draw up a scheme for spotting talent and watching the progress of promising tribal students. (Para 6.10)

32. The absence of a scheme for a systematic 'follow-up' accounts for much of the wastage noticed in the education of tribals. (Para 6.10)

33. Training imparted to tribals in craft centres is not linked to job opportunities and the skill acquired after completion of the training period is not utilized by the trainees to earn a living. (Para 6.11)

Chapter VII- COMMUNICATIONS

34. Reasonable percentage of the provision made under transport and communications in the State's Five Year Plans should be earmarked for the development of communications in tribal areas. Simultaneous action is also needed to protect the interests of the tribals in the newly opened up areas. (Para 7.3)

Chapter VIII- INDUSTRIES

35. If production-cum-training centres are to succeed, goods produced should be of marketable quality and should find a ready market. (Para 8.1)

36. Instead of wasting scarce resources in imparting technical education of a superficial type to a very large number of boys, who cannot use the skills acquired to earn a living it would be better to concentrate effort on a few training-cum-production centres and impart intensive training to a limited number of students. (Para 8.3)

Chapter IX - MEDICAL AND PUBLIC HEALTH

37. The benefit of the additional remuneration admissible to the medical staff of the Harijan Welfare Department should be extended to the medical staff of other Departments. (Para 9.4).

38. A phased programme to provide drinking water to the tribals may be drawn up after a survey of the tribal villages, giving priority to places where the supply of drinking water is scarce. (Para 9.7).





ANNEXURES

Annexure I

Copy of Government of India, Planning Commission, Committee on Plan Projects, Resolution No. COPP/Adm/16(1)/66 dated the 26th October, 1966, setting up the Study Team on Tribal Development Programmes, and incorporating change in composition of the Study Team made subsequently.

STUDY TEAM ON TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

No. COPP/Adm/16(1)/66: Programmes for the welfare and development of scheduled tribes form an integral part of the Five Year Plans. Although significant progress has been achieved in several directions, it is important that during the Fourth and Fifth Plan periods the process of economic and social development among tribal communities should be greatly accelerated. Rising levels of well-being, growing economic opportunities and greater integration with the rest of the population are essential both for the welfare of tribal communities and the progress of the country as a whole.

2. The Draft Outline of the Fourth Five Year Plan provides substantial resources for special programmes for the welfare of tribal communities and indicates a number of directions in which current development programmes should be reoriented. In the light of past experience, it has become essential that the schemes formulated should enable the tribal communities to secure an adequate share in the benefits of general development programmes and speed up their economic and social advance. With the object of giving practical effect to these recommendations and assisting State Governments in evolving concrete schemes of development which are specially adapted to the needs and conditions of tribal areas, at the suggestion of the Planning Commission, the Committee on Plan Projects have set up a Study Team on Tribal Development Programmes composed of the following:

(1) Shri P. Shilu Ao
Former Chief Minister
of Nagaland

Chairman

- | | |
|---|---|
| (ii) Shri L.M.Shrikant,
Secretary, Bharatiya
Adimjati Sewak Sangh
and ex-Commissioner
for Scheduled Castes
and Scheduled Tribes | Member |
| (iii) Shri T.Sivasankar,
formerly Secretary in
the Union Ministries
of Irrigation and
Power and Works,
Housing and Supply
and later Lt. Governor
of Goa. | |
| | Member

(Appointed from April
12, 1967, in place of
Shri B.Mehta, IAS,
Chief Secretary,
Government of Rajasthan
who left the Study
Team on February 20,
1967, consequent on
his appointment as
Member, Official
Language (Legislative)
Commission. |

3. The Study Team will work in close cooperation with the Planning Commission, the Department of Social Welfare, the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, the Department of Community Development and other Central Ministries concerned. In consultation with the Chief Ministers of States, the Study Team will co-opt one or more members in each State to function as members of the Team in relation to tribal development programmes in respect of that State.

4. The Study Team, thus enlarged, will acquaint itself first hand with the problems and needs of tribal communities in each State, appraise the working of tribal development programmes, specially during the Third Five Year Plan, and make detailed and specific recommendations regarding programmes of development to be carried out during the Fourth Five Year Plan. Particular emphasis will be given to devising measures for carrying the benefits of development in different sectors as effectively as possible to tribal communities and to the building up of the economy of tribal development blocks and tribal areas. The Study Team will give special attention to measures for strengthening the personnel and machinery for implementing programmes for tribal development in each State. It will also

suggest steps for harnessing the leadership and institutions among tribal communities so as to ensure their fullest participation in the tasks of economic and social development.

5. The Study Team is expected to complete its work over a period of one year.

6. The headquarters of the Study Team will be at New Delhi.

7. Ordered that the RESOLUTION be published in the Gazette of India for general information.



ANNEXURE II
(Reference para 1.3)

Population and Habitat of Different Tribes

Sl. No.	Name of the tribe	Population	Habitation
1.	Pulayan	61,097	Cannanore, Kozhikode, Palghat and Trichur
2.	Paniyan	37,068	Cannanore and Kozhikode
3.	Marati	14,829	Cannanore
4.	Malayarayar	14,082	Kottayam and Ernakulam
5.	Kurumans	13,377	Cannanore and Kozhikode
6.	Kurichchan	11,849	Cannanore and Kozhikode
7.	Irular and Irulan	11,454	Palghat
8.	Kanikaran or Kanikar	9,457	Trivandrum and Quilon
9.	Adiyan	5,691	Cannanore and Kozhikode
10.	Muthuwan, Mudvgar or Mudavan	5,069	Kottayam and Palghat
11.	Kattunayakan	3,907	Kozhikode and Cannanore
12.	Mannan	3,610	Kottayam, Ernakulam, Allephey Trivandrum, Trichur and Quilon
13.	Ulladan (Hill dwellers)	3,368	Kottayam, Quilon, Ernakulam and Trichur
14.	Malayan	3,168	Palghat, Trichur and Kottayam
15.	Hill Pulaya	2,982	
16.	Uraly	2,597	Ernakulam, Quilon & Kottayam
17.	Malai Arayan	2,115	Kottayam, Quilon, Allephey and Ernakulam
18.	Palleyan	1,354	Kottayam and Trivandrum
19.	Kurunubas	999	Palghat, Kozhikode and Cannanore
20.	Kadar	957	Palghat, Kozhikode and Trichur
21.	Malai Pandaram	813	Quilon, Trivandrum, Ernakulam & Kottayam
22.	Malai Vedan	720	Quilon, Trivandrum and Allephey
23.	Koraga	548	Cannanore
24.	Eravallan	518	Palghat, Kottayam & Ernakulam
25.	Kammara	270	Cannanore, Kozhikode & Palghat
26.	Malakurvan	246	Quilon, Trivandrum, Trichur, Kottayam, Alleppey & Ernakulam
27.	Palliyan	210	Kottayam, Quilon & Trivandrum
28.	Kudiya or Malakudi	194	Cannanore
29.	Malasar	89	Cannanore, Kozhikode & Palghat
30.	Kochu Velan	47	Kottayam, Allephey and Quilon
31.	Arandan	43	Kozikhode and Cannanore
32.	Palliyan	19	Kozikhode, Cannanore and Palghat
33.	Kondaraddis	9	Palghat and Cannanore
34.	Kota	8	Kozikhode

ANNEXURE III
(Reference para 1.6)

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS
AMONG SCHEDULED TRIBES - 1961 CENSUS

Sl. No.	Economic Classification	No. of persons	Percentage of Scheduled Tribe	Percentage of total population
1.	Total Population	2,12,762	100.00	100.00
2.	Non-Workers	1,12,801	53.02	66.69
	Workers Total	99,961	46.98	33.31
	(i) As cultivator	25,577	25.59	20.92
	(ii) As Agricultural Labour	41,458	41.47	17.38
	(iii) Mining, Quarrying, Forestry, Fishing, Livestock, Hunting Orchards, Plantation and allied activities.	8,030	8.03	8.66
	(iv) Household industry	3,484	3.49	8.68
	(v) Manufacturing other than household industry	1,545	1.55	9.40
	(vi) In construction	371	0.37	1.25
	(vii) In trade and commerce	212	0.21	5.72
	(viii) Transport storage communication	650	0.65	2.71
	(ix) Other services	18,634	18.64	25.28

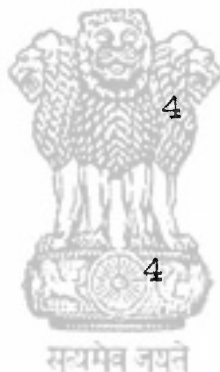
LEVELS OF LITERACY AMONG SCHEDULED TRIBES ONLY BY SEX - CENSUS 1961

Level of Literacy	SCHEDULED TRIBES			TOTAL POPULATION								
	MALES No.	FEMALES No.	TOTAL No.	MALES No.	FEMALES No.	TOTAL No.						
Total population	106086	100.00	106686	100.00	212772	100.00	8361927	100.00	8541788	100.00	16903715	100.00
Literates(with out) levels of education	17988	16.95	9711	9.10	27699	13.01	3083583	36.9	2308737	27.00	5392320	31.9
Primary or Junior Basic	5575	5.25	2870	2.69	8445	3.96	1167384	14.0	857465	10.1	2024843	12.6
Matriculation or above	431	0.40	133	0.12	564	0.27	345298	4.1	156753	1.8	502051	2.9
Total literacy percentage		22.60		11.91		17.24		55.0		38.9		46.8

ANNEXURE V
(Reference para 2.8)

PHYSICAL TARGETS PROPOSED AND ACHIEVED
DURING THE THREE FIVE YEAR PLANS

	I Plan		II Plan		III Plan	
	Target	Achievement	Target	Achievement	Target	Achievement
1. Scholarships and stipends			30000	33168	90000	66552
2. Boarding Grants			300	424	1000	433
3. Model Welfare Centres	15		15	15	15	15
4. Construction of houses, house-sites			859	840	560	201
5. Grants for purchase of agriculture implements			859 (fami- lies)	868 (fami- lies)	800 (fami- lies)	400 (fami- lies)
6. Forest Co-operatives			24	13		
7. Mobile Medical Units	4		4	2	2 MM Units 10 Dis.	2 MM Units 10 Dis.
8. Colonies	4					
9. Co-operative Societies					20	20



ANNEXURE V
(Reference para 4.1)

POSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS ENGAGED IN CULTIVATION
CLASSIFIED BY SIZE OF LAND CULTIVATED IN RURAL
AREAS ONLY FOR MEMBERS OF SCHEDULED TRIBES

...

(Households of members of Scheduled Tribes in
a 20% sample of all households - 1961 Census)

Size of land holdings (Acres)	Total No. of cultivated households	Percentage to total households
Less than 1	382	14.92
1.0 to 2.4	983	38.38
2.5 to 4.9	655	25.58
5.0 to 9.9	417	16.28
10.0 to 14.9	94	3.67
Above 15	30	1.17
Total	2561	100.00



ANNEXURE VII
(Reference para 9.1)

LIST OF AYURVEDIC DISPENSARIES

Sl. No.	Name of Dispensary	Taluk	District
1.	Chettiampara	Nedumangad	Trivandrum
2.	Chittur	Pathanamthitta	Quilon
3.	Champakad	Devicolum	Kottayam
4.	Mannankanda	Devicolum	Kottayam
5.	Naliyani	Thodupuzha	Ernakulam
6.	Kuriarkutty	Chittur	Palghat
7.	Chingeri	South Wynad	Kozhikode
8.	Kannavam	Tollicherry	Cannanore
9.	Aralam	Taliparamba	Cannanore
10.	Thirunelly	Mannantoddy	Cannanore

